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MEDIAEVAL LATIN LYRICS

PART IV

APPENDIX¹

The five methods referred to on page 85 above are as follows:

1. *If a poem appear in an earlier or better text elsewhere than in a German MS, the presumption is that it is of foreign extraction.* The weakness of this method and its attendant dangers are obvious; I have already called attention to them in a discussion of Jeanroy's thesis that French lyrics were the source of German lyrics in the twelfth century (*Modern Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 412 f.). Particular care must be exercised in the application of this chronological test to mediaeval profane songs which in both France and Germany were often not documented until one or more generations after the poems were composed; not written down at least in MSS which have descended to us. Often we owe our knowledge of the existence of profane poetry at a certain time to the merest chance, such as the scribbling of a refrain on a margin of MS to test the scribe's pen before he began an initial, such as a phrase at the heading of a serious piece to give the tune it should be sung by, such as a chance reference in homily or sermon, or a tale like that of the Worcester priest in Gerald's *Gemma ecclesiastica* who said *Swete lemman, dhin are* (sweet mistress, thy favor) instead of the expected *Dominus vobiscum* (*Opera Giraldi*, Vol. II, p. 120; Schofield, *op. cit.*, p. 445; Sandys, *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. I, p. 219). The age and the provenience of a song can thus be but rarely determined with absolute definiteness.

And as to the "better" text we may not always safely judge. Opinion may differ as to which of two or three texts is best; and if we agree that one form of a poem be preferable, the longest, finest and clearest variant is not necessarily the first one. Quite the contrary often, for we sometimes learn how one poet after another changed and added to a piece until it reached final shape.

2. *If vernacular phrases mingle with the Latin words of a poem, it is probably original in the land whose language these phrases represent.* Here again we cannot attain definite results, particularly in macaronic Middle English lyrics (cf. Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*; ten Brink,

¹ It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the vital help and encouragement I have received from Mr. George L. Hamilton, of the University of Michigan, and Mr. Edward K. Rand, of Harvard University. I wish the merit of my performance better justified their kindly offices in its behalf. My colleagues Mr. John M. Manly and Mr. Karl Pietsch have likewise been unflinching in criticism and suggestion.

Gesch. d. engl. Lit., Vol. I², p. 354). At one time, to be sure, all Europe that was ambitious to learn went or longed to go to the French schools, just as later it looked to Italy as the fount of its inspiration. Thus it was possible for an Englishman like Hilary, or a German lad like the author of *Urbs salve regia*, to write a lyric with French words in it or a French refrain to it. At times this song is cut according to the Paris school-jib and perhaps had for its model some French student song; at times the student made a bran-new poem, incorporating in it the personal knowledge and experience gained at the French school, and thus wrote a piece not inherently English or German, but French. Sometimes, however, French words occur in a poem the whole cast of which otherwise is German. Besides which we know that vernacular words were in a few cases inserted in Latin pieces long after they were written. The presence in a song of German or English words indicates nationality more than French words do, for during the whole twelfth century the latter tongue was a sort of *lingua franca* for cultured Europe.

3. *Specific allusion to a country or to its customs and institutions may indicate the original home of a poem.* I have shown with what circumspection this test must be used in my discussion of Nos. 51 and 88 above. Such instances can be multiplied in Latin poems which do not occur in the Benedictbeuern MS; the German's song of farewell to his beloved Swabia, for example, which I have quoted above, p. 24, n. 3, can scarcely be thought of as copied from a French original. In the Germany of the twelfth century, as six hundred years later, Paris was *die hauptstadt der welt* and France the fabled land of romance. We should, therefore, expect to hear echoes of this in Latin songs of German manufacture.

4. *The versification of a song may so closely resemble that of a poet or group of poets outside of Germany that the piece can be assigned to them.* Any application of this test must necessarily rest mainly upon the well-known studies in mediaeval Latin rhythms published by Wilhelm Meyer (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2 vols, 1905). Schreiber first put this method forth to determine which of the Latin songs in the *Carmina burana* were of German origin, in his *Die Vagantenstrophe* (1894). His conception of Latin rhythms was colored by Meyer's essay *über die lateinischen Rythmen* (*Sitzungsber. d. Münchener Akad.*, 1882, I) and Dreves' *Petri Abaelardi hymnarius* (1891), aided here and there by the views of Richard M. Meyer, Martin, Burdach, and Wallensköld. For the sake of discussion I should be willing to accept many of the more general statements of Schreiber about mediaeval lyric measures as true. But when he would apply his results to individual poems in the *Carmina burana* and thus decide which songs are French, which songs German, it is not safe to follow.

For practically every text in the Benedictbeuern MS has to be recon-

structed before its rhythm can be known. Such restored versions are based in nearly every instance at least partly on guesswork—subtle and clever guessing sometimes, but none the less guessing. The foundation of Schreiber's argument is, therefore, at any one moment shaky, often unscientific. The Bacon authorship of Shakespeare can be made many times more plausible than it is if each investigator of the problem be permitted to add and subtract at will. In one poem of five stanzas (No. 109) Schreiber has conjectured the following words: *denuo, lepida, victa, feminae, libere, a diis, Taydis, attamen, unico, spatio, oculi, absque te, sine te, mihi nunc, tu*, and the inflectional ending *-eres*. Does the sense require these additions? No; the piece is an intelligible and poetic whole without them. Why did he add them then? In order to get three additional syllables in three verses of each stanza and thus bring the poem up to the form he presupposed. Where did he get these words? Partly from the *Altercatio Ganymedis et Helenae* (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 127 f.; *Notices et extraits*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. II, pp. 274 f.), partly out of his own head. Is there any proven connection between the *altercatio* and No. 109? No.

Supposing we should thus remold Browning, or Tennyson, trimming them up with chosen bits from Shelley or Coleridge. It makes the perspiration start but to imagine it. What with garbled texts then, and with all reasonable allowance for similarity, coincidence even, of meter and rhythm, I cannot agree to the employment of verse-tests to bring about a final decision as to the origin of a song, in a period where we are still so much in the dark as here.

Schreiber, however, treated only the *vagantenstrophe*. Lundius has come to carry on the verse-test method by examining all the technical details of the Benedictbeuern Latin songs to get criteria to determine their birthplace (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 330-493). He assumes a time of efflorescence with a certain definite art-technique; this period is one which comprises Adam of St. Victor, Walter of Chatillon, the St. Omer Songs, the poems of the Archpoet, the songs printed by Wright, and the great mass of hymns published by Mone and Dreves! A period, that is, that lasted several hundred years, that stretched from London to Rome and included three or four of the great cultural nations of modern Europe. The art of this period, Lundius states, is marked by several definite characteristics. Where these are deviated from, something is wrong; perhaps the song is German. *Exempli gratia*, "the art of the period of bloom . . . strictly preserved the number of syllables in a verse" (p. 335). "On the contrary in the songs of our collection we meet frequently offenses against the syllabic equality of lines. This phenomenon finds a simple explanation if one posits the influence of the German national metrical law as the cause of the disturbance" (p. 461). Forty-

nine pieces are discovered to offend against the law of syllable equality—Lundius declares these pieces German. Likewise, thirty or more of the songs in the *Carmina burana* have especially impure rhyme (p. 476), the rhymes of the St. Omer songs are particularly pure, therefore "impurity of rhyme is a characteristic of German songs." And so on. And so forth.

I am not aiming at Lundius. His performance, or rather the vast detail of it, impresses me somewhat. Verse-tests carried out no more faithfully than his have blazed the way for our understanding of whole sorts and times of poetic effort; Chaucer, for instance, and his relation to fourteenth-century English meters. But we know Chaucer was an Englishman; who and what (man or men) was the Archpoet? We know within narrow compass the dates of Chaucer's writings. When was written "the great mass of hymns published in Mone and Dreves?" What did Walter of Chatillon write? Just the *Alexandreis* and a few stilted narrative poems, or a swarm of songs like those "commonly attributed to Mapes"? And finally, what text of a song may be trusted? That one which Wilhelm Meyer (to name but the great name) has "restored" shortly before he makes a sweeping assertion that "up to now I have found only in Germany Latin songs of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries with disparate number of syllables"? (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. I, p. 250.)

This tireless investigator has recently extended his study of the syllabic inequality in earlier Latin verses and believes the phenomenon to be caused by the influence of the old German four-stressed line (*Vierheber*); cf. "Ein Merowinger Rythmus u. altdeutsche Rythmik in lateinischen Versen," *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1908, pp. 31-81. But clearly as he is able to show the disturbing influence of such ictus on the usually schematic Latin line, helpful as the results of his study may be in strengthening our belief that certain poems are of German workmanship, there is undoubted danger, in the light of our present knowledge, in making the unsupported assertion that every Latin line whose syllables are apparently influenced by such ictus is German in origin.

Meyer himself cites the case of Dhuoda's poems (cf. Bondurant, *Le manuel de Dhuoda* [1887], pp. 47, 225, 228, 240; Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen* [1888], pp. 141-148). Dhuoda was married in Aachen in the year 824, was duchess of Septimania, and wrote her verses in Uzès near the lower Rhone. Meyer acknowledges that she scarcely can have had anything to do with German verse-makers, but surmises, on the basis of his syllable-test alone, that she may have been the daughter of a Frankish house, and either in her parents' home or in her own have come to know the agreeable, fresh and diversified Franco-German popular rhythms and to use them to enliven the monotonous Latin rhythmical form of her four poems. To the query why Dhuoda did not imitate the native, popular

Gallic rhythms, Meyer answers that the existence of old French and Provençal poems at that time must first be proved.

Except as contributory evidence, to join with other testimony of the paternity of a poem in order to establish its birthplace, I do not think we can yet accept either impure rhyme or syllabic inequality.

5. *Internal testimony (such as treatment of theme, symbolism, manner) may suggest an un-German source for a song.* This I believe to be the worst and the best of all five methods—according as we administer it. At its worst the method is utterly untrustworthy, for it is based upon some preconceived assumption. To give an illustration: There is a widespread belief, which I have already referred to, that German poets during the twelfth century, whether secular or clerical, were less able to write a correct Latin song than their French brethren. It may be true that the French were the authors of all the mediaeval Latin lyrics worth the having; but how shall we prove it? The Archpoet may still be a German, if you wish, and so may an occasional poet in the *Carmina burana*. It is unsafe to decide against an anonymous Latin lyric of springtime and love as a German production, just because one rather gathers without the slightest show of reason that to be German in the twelfth century one must be comparatively stupid.

At its best the fifth method is subjective. It demands that others see the matter as do we, and there is no absolute analytical test that it can employ to educe proof. But, if we are careful, this method leads to suggestive if not final results and joins with other tests to establish as great certainty as we may reach until fuller revelation comes. It is no preconceived assumption that the presence of one kind of style, diction, word-vocabulary, one manner of theme-treatment, one type of figurative imagery, has always been an inalienable part of popular German poetry. If we are right in thinking now and again that we get strong hints of such *volkslied*-symbolism in a Latin lyric, the presumption is that the latter is somehow German in origin. We don't know much about the stupidity of twelfth-century German lyric poets, but we do know something of their manner of writing; for it is on the one hand documented in early *minnesang*, on the other hand we may reason at times from the analogy of later texts. Just as surely do we know something of early French popularizing poetry: the *pastourelle* and the *romance*, for example. These types exhibit in their turn a certain style and diction. We cannot be sure all French poets that wrote Latin were bright, but we may decide that a Latin lyric is French in origin, if it show the verbal figurative atmosphere of a French *chansonnette*.

We need not be surprised to discover that the more mechanical and mathematical methods of studying a Latin lyric which was wafted across Europe for two centuries are not always the safest. Nor may we rightly

scoff at applying in our study the test of style and diction. Let us only mock when the application is not intelligently or honestly made.

"Modern" nature-sense.—It has been often felt that a dividing line may be established between antique and modern treatment of nature in epic and lyric verse. Nature description in the classical poets, particularly the Romans, is sometimes held to be a bye-production, an occasional embellishment, a thing to be done with a few strokes, more indicated than carried out in detail (cf. Baehrens, *Unedirte lateinische Gedichte* [1877], p. 35); whereas modern art has assigned to nature an independent importance, sentimentalizes its every delicate particular, discovers in it a latent sympathy for every possible human emotion.

I doubt if this difference of attitude toward nature should be made a criterion of different ages of poetic art. I believe it rather a distinguishing characteristic of separate kinds of poetry within the same period. One sort of nature treatment is epic (objective), the other lyric (subjective); the first kind views nature from without, the other sees it from within. Any period of poetic art of which we have full record would, I believe, show both attitudes. This statement is important for one reason, if for no other. We speak of the "evolution of nature-sense in poetry," as if it were something that grows from an original grain of mustard until it becomes a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Rather, I imagine, does this nature-sense dwell in every age, to come to fuller expression in such times as are most given to the writing of lyrical poetry. Did we not know for example that the following description of nature occurred in the Easter-sequence of Notker, we might well imagine it the work of Adam of St. Victor nearly three hundred years later:

Favent igitur
 resurgenti Christo cuncta gaudiis:
 Flores, segetes
 redivivo fructu vernant,
 et volucres
 gelu tristi terso dulce jubulant.
 Lucent clarius
 sol et luna morte Christi turbida;
 Tellus herbida
 resurgenti plaudit Christo,
 quae tremula
 ejus morte se casuram minitat.

Cf. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, Vol. I, p. 201, Schubinger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens*, p. 48, Winterfeld, *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. V, p. 355, Gautier, *Œuvres d'Adam de S. V.*, Vol. I, p. 82:

Mundi renovatio
 nova parit gaudia,
 Resurgenti domino
 conresurgunt omnia.

Similar nature-parallelism of a direct kind was frequent enough in secular poems of St. Gall and Reichenau, if we believe the testimony of the songs of welcome which Walafrid, Ratpert, and Notker addressed to visiting sovereigns, e. g.:

Innovatur nostra laetos
Terra flores proferens;
Ver novum praesentat aestas,
Dum datur te cernere.

Plus hodie solito radiat sol clarus in alto,
Cumque serena venis nubila cuncta teris.
Floribus arva nitent, quia te nos visere cernunt,
Foetibus atque solum germinat omne bonum.

Haec ipsa gaudent tempora,
Floreque verno germinant
Adventus omni gaudio,
Quando venit optatior.

There is nothing in the tone of these nature-pictures to remind one of the ninth or tenth century.

But, no matter! Suppose we feel it incumbent upon us to keep the adjective "modern" when speaking of nature treatment in poetry. Then we must make this word so elastic that it includes the fourth century of our era. For such verses as the *Pervigilium Veneris* or one of the poems ascribed to Tiberianus (not mentioned by Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*!) are colored by "modern" sentiment.

Amnis ibat inter arva valle fusus frigida,
Luce ridens calculorum, flore pictus herbido.
Caerulas superne laurus et virecta myrtea
Leniter motabat aura blandiente sibilo;
Subtus autem molle gramen flore adulto creverat:
Tum croco solum rubebat et lucebat liliis
Et nemus fragrabat omne violarum sub spiritu.
Inter ista dona veris gemmeasque gratias
Omnium regina odorum vel colorum Lucifer
Aureo flore eminebat cura Cypridis rosa.
Antra muscus et virentes intus myrtus vinxerant.
Roscidum nemus rigeat inter uda gramina:
Fonte crebro murmurabant hinc et inde rivuli;
Quae fluentia labibunda guttis ibant lucidis.
Has per umbras omnis ales plus canora quam putes
Cantibus vernis strepebat et susurris dulcibus;
Hic loquentis murmur amnis concinebat frondibus,
Quis melos vocalis aurae musa zephyri moverat.
Sic euntem per virecta pulchra odora et musica
Ales amnis aura lucus flos et umbra juverat.

Cf. Baehrens, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Recovering a song.—To reconstruct the text of a lyric poem on the basis of a single corrupt MS is technically an inadmissible thing. The temptation to do so has, however, assailed most investigators of mediaeval poetry and many have been their lapses from grace. For several years I was sorely tried by No. 89 of the *Carmina burana*. The theme of it was,

it seemed to me, "When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be," or as the libertine Serlo of Wilton expressed it: "Dum fero languorem, / fero religionis amorem; / Expers languoris, / non sum memor hujus amoris." Cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques MSS*, Vol. I, p. 314; II, p. 213. We have a prose rendering of the same story in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*, cap. XVI (ed. Stange, 1851; cf. also Kaufmann, *Zeitschr. des Vereins für rheinische Geschichte*, Vol. I, 1862). The archpoet Nicolaus, fearing a mortal sickness, joins the Cistercians, but when danger is past he throws off his cowl with a jest and flees; cf. *Leipziger Blätter für Pädagogik*, Vol. VI (1872), p. 41. Our poem contains three eight-versed stanzas, indicating the liveliest sort of dialogue between a stricken son afraid of death and wishing therefore to take vows and a father who urges against such a step. At the end comes swiftly and without warning a quick break of mood worthy of Heine. These three stanzas form a whole that is light, witty, and dramatic, if we change two evident mistakes (*frater* thrice to *pater*; *floribus* to *fletibus*), and allow the substitution of the feminine gender for the masculine in the last three verses of the second eight-versed stanza). Without this change, the piece was, I thought, to be regarded as either incoherent or sodomitic.

Between the first two eight-versed stanzas, however, come ten quatrains didactic in tendency, retarding the action, broadly animadverting upon the contrasts of heavenly and earthly life. In a word, our poem at once becomes a *debat*, a *conflictus*. The wit of the poem is destroyed and the tone of it spoiled to modern notion by these interpolations. We have dozens of examples in the *Carmina burana* of patched-together songs. It is interesting to know that by treating No. 89 in a way which experience has seemed to justify in other cases, by removing part of it that ill agrees with the rest, by restoring a reading that may have been altered to suit the needs of a patchwork song, we have a lyric left us which is so unique an instance of clever humor as to stand strikingly forth. What perhaps took place was that a monk or clerk attracted by the dramatic quality of the piece, and its treatment of a theme which appealed to mediaeval taste—the antithesis of carnal and ascetic pursuits—turned a lyric into a *conflictus*. One of the most popular school-books in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the *Ecloga* of Theodulus, as Mr. Hamilton reminds me. It inspired many a *schularbeit*—it may have spoiled many a lyric (cf. Selbach, *Das Streitgedicht in der altprovenz. Dichtung* [1886]).

"Son: Father, quick with help and counsel, I'm dying and would be a monk. Father: A plague upon logic! It drives clerks to exile and wretchedness. But then you'll no more see him [her] you love, the poor pretty N. the clerk (the mistress). Son: Alack! Whatever to do I know not, I drift in the desert without help. Dry your tears, father, perhaps I am getting better—I've changed my mind anyhow and shall be no monk."

If such twisting of a song be considered idle trifling, let us remember the happy chance that led to Wilhelm Meyer's restoration of two songs out of two fragments, with some trimming of the crust that overlapped the edges of the pastry-tin! (Nos. 81 and 169). Two stanzas of No. 108 are a gloss made by boiling down Juveninus. A similar *denkvers* ruins No. 33. No. 174 is rebuilt of bricks from a demolished No. 36, and No. 176 owes most to No. 37, a little to Nos. 179 and CLXXXVI, and the rest doubtless to an as yet undiscovered source. So runs on the tale. And while I should by no means urge my restoration of No. 89, I cannot yet quite discredit it. Others presumably can—and will.

Peiper long ago called attention to the similarity between the verses in this song

O ars dialectica
Numquam esses cognita,
Quae tot facis clericos
Exules ac miseros,

and lines in the *Amphitryon* of Vitalis; cf. the editions of Osann (1836), Müller (1840); *Bibl. de l'Ecole des chartes*, 2^e ser., Vol. IV, p. 486, and especially Cloetta, *Beitr. z. Littgesch. d. Mittelalters*, Vol. I, pp. 68 ff., 152 f. "What reader of Freytag's *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*," asks Peiper, "does not at such a time think of the Gothic king Theodahad whose weak brain had been confused by Roman rhetors?" Cf. Müllenbach, *Comoediae elegiacae* (1885) and Peiper, "Die profane Komödie des Mittelalters," *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. V (1876), p. 518.

Popularity of nugae amatoriae.—We should not be too ready to believe that Peter of Blois's lighter songs possessed a popularity beyond the power of flood, fire, or ruin to destroy (*supra*, p. 65); that Abelard wrote lyrics which were on everybody's lips (p. 23); that Walter's poems resounded through all France (pp. 23, 67); that people generally knew of the mocking satires of young Bernard, etc. That sort of statement must be taken with as many grains of salt as must mediaeval ascriptions of poetry to a distant, unknown, or fictitious author. It was a common exaggeration in the Middle Ages to assume more or less world-wide popularity for mediocre performances. Thus in a letter of the late eleventh century (Ivonis, Carnutensis episcopi, epistolae lxvi, lxvii) we hear the following about a poor bishop of Orleans: "Quidam enim concubii sui appellantes eum *Floram* multas rithmicas cantilenas de eo composuerunt, sicut nostis miseriam terrae illius, *per urbes Franciae* in plateis et compitis cantitantur." Thus again Wolter in his *Chronica bremensis* speaks of a certain Otbert who early in the thirteenth century was known *everywhere* for his pretended miracles ("et fama ejus *in omni terra* personuit"): "carmina elegica fuerunt de eo facta et cantata in viis." Cf. Du Ménil

(1847), p. 5, n. 2; p. 193, n. 6. Examples of such hyperbole might be readily multiplied.

Lighter songs that were popular were ascribed to the famous churchmen and schoolmen of the Middle Ages, and conversely the songs ascribed to them were thought of as popular. Walter's boast of the vogue of his musical songs did not seem strange to that posterity which overvalued his *Alexandreis*. This bulky poem was one of the oftenest read school-texts until the sixteenth century; it was considered by many superior to the work of Vergil and Ovid; its maxims were quoted by writers of the Middle Ages along with the epigrams of classical authors (Giesebrecht *Allg. Monatsschr.*, 1853, 369). It is easy to understand how students came to grant ready credence to overstatements regarding the wide dissemination of the school-lyrics of Walter and others.

Lyrics of reflection.—A dozen times I was near changing my discussion of the didactic lyric (pp. 32 f.), to include under a separate rubric *lyrics of reflection*. Moralizing poems are as a general rule without the pale of lyric expression, but if they happen to achieve individuality like Serlo's *Ego quondam filius* (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. V, p. 297; Werner, *Beiträge*, p. 147), if they are clothed in musical stanzas, if they gain and hold our sympathy, it is difficult to dismiss them unmentioned. Gröber (*Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 379–80) sufficiently indicates the type I mean, but when we study such a group of songs as he lists we discover that though they are at times briefer and simpler in cadence and rhyme than most *lehrgedichte*, the difference is apt to be but one of degree and not of kind. It was this sort of *planctus* that monks and clerks embellished and overloaded until the original appeal was lost in the euphuistic mazes of swollen diction. To choose but one example, and that of a high order of merit: the *Cygnus exspirans* (Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, Vol. IV, p. 351) is a poem of some direct effectiveness. It opens with a stanza that promises the best:

Parendum est, cedendum est,
Claudenda vitæ scena;
Est jacta sors, me vocat mors,
Hæc hora est postrema:
Valete res, valete spes;
Sic finit cantilena.

But scarce are we launched in the *planctus* which consists of 72 lines when acervation commences and simplicity ends. Judged by this standard several songs of the *Carmina burana* are of much lyric worth. These are not the famous *Versa est in luctum cythara Waltheri* (LXXXVI) although the refrains indicate it was meant to be sung, nor *Licet aeger cum aegrotis* (LXXI; cf. Wright, *Political Songs*, p. 44; Kingsford, *English Historical Review* [1890], p. 325; Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. XXI, p. 145), nor *Ecce torpet probitas* (LXVII; with two refrains; cf. *Anzeiger f. Kunde d. d. Vorzeit*, Vol. VII, col. 294; Schreiber,

Vagantenstrophe, p. 168), nor yet any of the *planctus* in either Christmas play or Passion play (CCII, CCIII). Even No. VI, graceful as it is in manner, is hardly a song in point because of its grimness of conception and the generality of its phrasing. But Nos. X (*Dum juvenus floruit*) and LXIX (*Florebat olim studium*) are musical, not over-earnest, individual in note, and sing themselves. The first runs:

Dum juvenus floruit,
Licuit
Et libuit
Facere quod placuit,
Juxta voluntatem
Currere,
Peragere,
Carnis voluptatem;

and the second is no less happy. The theme of its forty-eight verses is that the clerks are to blame for the decay of learning which in common with all things good is gone quite to the dogs. Scholastic allusion abounds; we hear of Brunel's ass (Nigel Wireker, *Speculum stultorum*), of Gregory, Jerome, the bishop Wikterp of Regensburg, Augustine, Benedict, Mary, Martha, Leah, Rachel, Caro, and Lucrece, but even this ill custom can not stale its infinite variety.

Had there been in all the range of mediaeval Latin lyrics further songs like these, they would have had separate place in the body of the study. But each in its own way these pieces are conspicuous for their isolation in the species to which they belong.

Frauenstrophen.—Curious, it seems to me, is the contention of Wilmanns (*Walther von der Vogelweide*, 1882, p. 165) that if the women-stanzas (cf. *supra*, p. 109) presuppose earlier lyric models than those of *minnesang* these must be songs of professional female minstrels such as can be shown to have existed in Romance countries at this time. "The position in life occupied by these girls permitted them to give frank utterance in song to devoted love and ardent longing, from which a natural reserve and feminine modesty withheld other women. During his Italian journey bishop Wolfger of Passau had opportunity to get such *puellae cantantes* to sing to him."

Even were it necessary to believe women composed the *frauenstrophen*, we should scarcely seek their origin in the performances of *miminnen*, *jongleureses*, and *spielmänninnen*, for there is nothing in the presumptive work and calling of such creatures, in so far as we learn of them, that would inspire the tender lines under discussion.

Stimmungsbrechung.—To the examples of sudden break of mood instanced above (pp. 8, 91) add

Ecce laetantur omnia,
Quaeque dant sua gaudia, —
Excepto me qui gratia
Amicae meae careo.

(Du Ménil [1847], p. 234, from a xiii-century French MS). The same song contains a much simpler *minnegruss* than *Carmina burana* no. 82 (cf. *supra* p. 14):

Quot sunt arenae littore,
Quot folia in arbore,
Quot rami sunt in nemore,
Tot dolores sustineo;
Ob hoc infirmus corpore,
Quod hanc tenere nequeo.

Rursus quot sunt in aethere
Astra, vel quot sub aere
Homines credo vivere,
Tot vicibus congaudeo
Cum possum mane tangere
Quam semper mente video.

Literati and laici.—Add to the four quotations under this heading (cf. *supra*, p. 123, note 2):

Nuper ego didici, quod semper sunt inimici
Clerici et laici, solet hoc per saecula dici.

Cf. *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. III, p. 285: Schmeller in a note to the *Mass of Gamesters* (*Carmina burana*, p. 249) remarks that the following is written on the margin of the MS in a later hand than that of the original scribe: Omnipotens sempiternus deus, qui inter rusticos et clericos magnam discordiam seminasti, praesta quaesumus de laboribus eorum vivere, de mulieribus ipsorum vero et de morte Deciorum semper gaudere. In a mock-mass of a later time still Werner (*Beiträge*, p. 212) discovers a similar passage:

Audi nos. Nam rustici, qui sunt semper contra nos.
Da eis aquam bibere,
Da nobis vinum bonum consumere.

Vers.: Rustici sunt laeti
Quando sunt repleti
Resp.: Et sunt inflati
Quando sunt inebriati.

Deus, qui multitudinem rusticorum congregasti
Et magnam discordiam inter eos et nos seminasti,
Da, quaesumus, ut laboribus eorum fruamur
Et ab uxoribus eorum diligamur,
Per omnia pocula poculorum. Amen.

In the *Ass's Testament* (cf. *supra*, p. 134) the shoe seems to be on the other foot, for the dying animal of the rustic finds strength to make his will as follows:

Vocem dat cantoribus,
Collum potatoribus,
Virgam dat scholaribus.

Rhymed letters and laudatory odes.—Lack of space forbade quoting sufficient examples of the gallant and amorous versification (cf. *supra*, pp. 72-76) in vogue at the French schools in the twelfth century, to show how stilted and conventionalized it was. He who would learn at a glance the manner of such stereotyped utterance may conveniently do

so by running over several numbers of MS C. 58/275 in the City Library of Zurich (Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* [1905]: 48, 49, 66, 116-121) and contrasting them with popularizing *billets doux* such as no. 141 of the *Carmina burana*, which begins:

O mi dilectissima,
Vultu serenissima
Et mente lege sedula
Ut mea refert littera.
Manda liet! manda liet!
Min geselle chumet niet.

The Zurich MS was quite certainly the work of a German clerk who studied at French schools like Orleans and Paris and brought home to Germany with him this notebook, the fruit of his labors. It contains something of every type of poetry current in his day and gives an adequate idea of what was going forward at the time. A short consideration of the material in this book will convince any doubter that neither the goliard lyric or the popular lyric grew on any such trunk. There are but a handful of pieces among the four hundred which comprise the MS that have either life or the popular breath in them: e. g., nos. 15 of the Jew that fell into the privy; 90 Snow-child; 149 Spring-song; 197 Marbod's description of the beauty of spring; 342, 343 Two famous parting songs of the clerk off for school; 365 Confession of Golias; 386 Serlo's apostrophe to a mis-spent life—not a dozen numbers in all.

German fabliaux.—Although Bédier defines fabliaux as *contes à rire en vers* (*Les fabliaux*, 1895², pp. 28 ff.) he dates the first one 1159 (cf. his monograph on the 'fabliau de Richeut' in *Études dédiées à M. G. Paris*, 1891). Neglecting the German fabliaux of a much earlier time which are contained in the Cambridge MS, Bédier is thus able to establish his contes as distinctively French types, exemplars of the 'esprit gaulois,' etc. Ker (*Dark Ages*, p. 227) with a clearer because more unprejudiced vision writes as follows: "The comic literature of Germany has never had much credit from other nations, though they have been ready to live on it without acknowledgment, borrowing Till Owlglass and other jesters. In the Middle Ages Germany is ahead of France in a kind which is reckoned peculiarly French; the earliest fabliaux are in German Latin, with Swabians for comic heroes—the story of the *Snow-Child*, and the other *How the Swabian Made the King say 'That's a story.'* The former one with considerable elegance in phrasing tells a story fit for the *Decameron*; the other with less ambition gives one of the well-known popular tales—a monstrous lie rewarded with the hand of the king's daughter. The malice of the *Snow-Child* is something different from anything in vernacular literature till the time of Boccaccio and Chaucer; the learned language and the rather difficult verse perhaps helping to refine the mischief of the story. It is self-conscious, amused at its own craft: a different thing from the ingenuous simplicity of the French

"merry tales," not to speak of the churlish heaviness of the worst among them." Ker could have added to his enumeration of early German fabliaux the tales of Heriger and Alfrad, at least, without exceeding Bédier's definition, even if it should be felt that *Unibos* (Gevatter Einochs), and certain shorter animal tales like *Priester und Wolf* or *Hahn und Fuchs* scarcely came within the category.

Other *lügenmärchen* that have come down to us in the early poetry of the cloister are the *Three Brothers and the Goat* and *Notker's Mushroom* (cf. *Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vols. II, p. 474, IV, p. 336; *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. V, pp. 347 ff., Winterfeld, *Stilfragen*, pp. 15 ff.), one written by Notker, it may be, the other by Ekkehard IV. When we recall the droll tales mentioned above, when we remember the precious humor and satire which breathes at times in the *Gesta Karoli* (Eishere, the Goblin and the Farrier, the Bishop and the Jew) and the *Casus Sancti Galli* (Heribald and the Hungarians, the Scourging of Sindolf, Hadwig at the Hohentwiel), when we view Wichart's son's satire *De amicitia et conubio* (Keinz, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, Vol. IV, p. 145), Walafrid's reply to Probus, Ermenrich's yarn about Homer, Orcus and the Louse, Liutprand's story of the pranks of Emperor Leo, or Rather's fable of the Frog and the Mouse—it is difficult for us to credit the statement that the first *conte à rire en vers* was French and of the year 1159.

Tenth-century culture.—In an earlier essay (*Modern Philology*, Vol. III, p. 424) two records of the tenth century are used to bring into sharp contrast the dulness and the brilliance of imagination which characterized that time, and to prove that offhand summing-up of this period as one of gloom is inadvisable. Bartoli, for example, to quote but one incisive critic among many, says: "Il medio evo non pensa: esso non ha che un sentimento solo predominante, quello dell' oltremondano, che lo preoccupa, lo assorbe, lo atterrisce e lo inebria" (*I precursori del rinascimento*, p. 19). Better far than Bartoli's one-sided assertion is Ker's setting-off of Gerbert of Rheims and Rodulph Glaber against each other: "Gerbert is followed in literary history by Rodulphus, like a hero with a comicsquire: Rodulphus represents the permanent underlayer of mediaeval absurdity above which Gerbert rises so eminently; the two together make it impossible to arrive at any easy generalization about the culture of the Dark Ages. Gerbert's letters are those of a man for whom there were other interests besides rhetoric and philosophy, they admit one to a close acquaintance with the very life of that obscure time, and a knowledge of actual motives and character. Some of his short notes have the same kind of reality as Cicero's, being not records or reflections but practical agents in a great revolution. Rodulphus' book is one of the most authentic renderings anywhere to be found of the average mind of the time—both in the contents of the mind, visions, portents, stories, and in its artless,

movement from any point to any circumference. He has sometimes been treated too heavily, as if the whole Middle Age were summed up in Rodulphus Glaber. That is not so." (*Dark Ages*, pp. 198 f.)

In other words, the tenth century like any other was a time of many possibilities. So far as the lyric is concerned, monks were apt to write monkish odes, minstrels were quite as sure to compose musical songs. There is no lyric poem out of earlier cloister-life warmer than Walafrid's *Elegy to Home* (*Poetae aevi Karolini*, Vol. II, p. 412), but the Cambridge MS alone is sufficient to show what the minstrels were doing. We should not interpret the culture of the tenth century in terms of either type by itself.

Profane lyrics in Latin plays:—Taylor has shown (*Modern Philology*, Vols. IV, pp. 605 ff., V, pp. 1 ff.) the influence of Middle English religious lyrics on the development of the drama; cf. also Thien, *Über die englischen Marienklagen* (1906). Wechsler performed a like service for the Romance planctus (1893) and Schönbach for the German (1874). Bibliography in Taylor, p. 606, note 1, and Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, Vol. II, p. 39. The former promises soon a paper on the influence of the satire of the day upon Corpus Christi plays; it is to be hoped he will extend his work to include the didactic lyric and the lyric of reflection. But no one has as yet undertaken to examine all the evidence that exists to show how dependent the mediaeval church- and school-plays were upon the profane, erotic lyrics of their time.

Santangelo (*Studio sulla poesia goliardica*, pp. 46 f.) made a beginning by grouping together the Latin lyrics which occur in Christmas and Easter plays in three instances (*Carmina burana*, nos. 202, 203; Du Méril [1847], p. 213). One can scarcely blame Gerhoh of Reichersberg and Herrad of Landsberg for their censure of ecclesiastical plays, if many of them contained such verses as those employed in the Benedictbeuern Easter play (*Carmina burana*, pp. 92, 149, 275; a completer version in Hauréau, *Not. et Extr.*, Vol. XXIX, ii, p. 314); of which it will suffice to give the last two stanzas:

Respondenti metus
Trahit hanc ad fletus
Sed natura laetus
Amor indiscretus
Queam
Lineam
Jam pudoris tangere,
Meam
In eam
Manum mittit propere.
Dum propere,
Vim infero,
Post imminente machina.
Nec supero,
Nam aspero
Defendens ungue limina
Obserat introitus.

Tantalus admotum
Non amitto potum;
Sed ne meum totum
Frustraret illa votum,
Suo
Denuo
Collo jungens brachium
Ruo,
Diruo
Tricaturam crurium.
Ut virginem
Devirginem,
Me totum toti insero,
Ut cardinem
Determinem,
Duellum istud resero.
Gloriar victoria.

It is difficult to determine in the light of such evidence whether songs like these were inserted in dramas for the purpose of lending the required tone of wordliness, the desirable contrast to the godly conversation elsewhere employed, or whether the opportunity was taken to introduce scabrous material for its own sake.

The Meaning of "goliard."—Schönbach complains that council-decrees and synod-statutes which deal with the attitude of the church toward the popular festivals and entertainments have not been investigated with sufficient care and accuracy. He demands that Spanish enactments of the seventh century which have been handed down in transcripts be not utilized in determining the state of German culture during the twelfth century (*Die Anfänge des Minnesangs*, p. 3). Now the first decree regarding goliards is the order of Gautier of Sens (d. 913), the last is the *concilium Frisingense* (1440), more than 500 years apart. These statutes are given in Germany, France, and England; some of them speak of the goliard specifically as of a certain class of person, some of them—particularly the later ones—treat him as any sort of entertainer. It is equally dangerous to generalize from one of these decretals or to particularize from them all together. Santangelo (*op. cit.*, p. 14) asserts: "I goliardi furono giullari e non scolari vaganti: proverò che non furon nemmeno poeti, cioè gli autori della poesia goliardica." This statement is doubtless true of some goliards in some country at some time between the Dark Ages and the Renaissance—Chaucer's *goliardeys* for example was a miller and no clerk. But as a general contention Santangelo's remark is uncritical, for in many of our references to goliards we have but examples of the heaping-up of words so dear to the mediaeval mind. Cf., for instance, the meaningless lists of names included under "familia Herlekini" (Driesen, *Der Ursprung des Herlekin* [1904], pp. 33 ff.)

Der Marner (*floruit ca. 1230*) was a clerk who wrote Latin songs, five of which have descended to us (cf. Strauch, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. XIV [1876], pp. 94, 129; *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vols. XXII [1876], p. 254, XXIV [1878], p. 90; Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*. But Marner was at the same time a common player and minstrel and has informed us somewhat scornfully what a varied stock of goods the *spielmann* had to have within his roll (cf. Strauch, XV, 14 and 16, pp. 124, 127). Some of his wares were the old heroic tales and myths, some the courtly *minnesang*. In the former content mattered, not the shape of the recital (*der wigt min wort ringer danne ein ort*; "my words they hold not worth a doit"), in the latter it was the poetic setting that the audience cared for. And Marner was ready with every sort from the simplest German saw to the polished Latin ode on the Abbot of Maria-Saal or the *Jam pridum aestivalia* (*Carm. bur.*, No. 95; Zingerle, *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, Vol.

LIV [1866], p. 319). Konrad Marner therefore furnishes an interesting phase of the goliard situation in the thirteenth century, but it is not safe to generalize too much from this single instance.

Golias < *gula*.—Thomas Wright in proposing the etymology Golias from *gula*, "gullet, throat, palate" (*Latin Poems* [1841], p. x) was but following the authority of writers from twelfth century to fourteenth. Gerald of Barri's well-known description of Golias in the *Speculum ecclesiae*. "Item, parasitus quidam Golias nomine nostris diebus gulositate pariter et leccacitate famosissimus" contains a play upon words still popular in *Piers Plowman*: "a goliardeis, a gloton of wordes." But this derivation springs like many other similar ones from the inexplicable English delight in punning, or at least from the distressing habit of paronomasia so common to mediaeval scholasticism. An etymology thus born should be viewed askance as the following passage proves. I quote fully for two reasons, first, because of the evident appositeness to our theme; second, because I do not think the passage is well-known. I found it in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Classical Series), Vol. I, Part V, p. 62: *Glossae in Sidonium* (twelfth century):

Leccatorum multa genera. Quidam enim dicuntur mimi, quidam balatrones, quidam nebulones, quidam nepotes, quidam scurrae, quidam lenones, quidam histriones, quidam parasiti, quidam farmacopolae, a farmaca quod est unguentum et pole quod est vendere. De mimis dicit Horatius in Sermonibus Ambubaiaurum collegia farmacopolae Mendici mimi balatrones hoc penus omne Maestum ac sollicitum est mei pro morte Tigelli. Et notandum quod balatrones dicuntur a baratro quod est infernus. Dicitur autem baratrum quasi voratrum quia omnia devorat. Inde balatrones quasi voratores, quia propria devorant et aliena consumunt. Dicuntur nebulones a nebula quia ad modum nebulae transit gloria eorum. Vel quia aliena vitia per suas adulationes obcaecant. Dicuntur nepotes a nepa serpente quae suos fetus devorat. Scurra proprie appellatur vagus qui de domo ad domum discurrit ut ventrem satiet. De quibus bene dicitur, Quorum deus venter est. Unde Magister Serlo Scurrae jejuni te contra guttura muni. Lenones dicuntur conciliatores stupri. Unde quidam egregius versificator Leno ferre pedem talem non debet in aedem. Hac habitare domo debet honestus homo. Histrion dicitur ab historon quod est adulari. Unde quidam in cantilena sua Meretur histrio virtutis praemium, Dum palpat vitium dulci mendacio. Parasiti dicuntur quasi parantes situs hominum vel quasi iuxta parapsidem siti.

Archipoeta and Walther von der Vogelweide.—More than thirty years ago Martin remarked certain correspondences between Walther's verse and goliardic poetry (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XX, p. 66): "Doch es liesse sich auch sonst wol so manches in Walthers gedanken und ausdrücken mit der lateinischen vagantenpoesie vergleichen: nicht nur als *minnedichter* deren scholastik ja auch bei den andern mhd. lyrikern nachwürkt, sondern auch als mahner zum kreuzzug und gegner der römischen curie waren ihm die fahrenden kleriker vorausgegangen." The same statement recurs in Burdach's *Walther von der Vogelweide* (1900), pp. 37, 42, 184 f., although it has never been subjected to a thoroughgoing analysis: "Nach dem Vorbild der lateinisch dichten-

den Vaganten gestaltet Walther die deutsche volksmässige gnomische Dichtung der Spielleute in seiner Weise um. Er wird ein Nachfolger der Spervogelschen Schule und zugleich des Archipoeta. Das muss auch auf seine *Liebespoesie* entscheidend einwirken, sie von Grund aus umgestalten." "Er ist der erste ritterliche Sänger, der halb und halb das Leben und die Kunst der Fahrenden, der Vaganten sich aneignet. Er muss wie seine Vorläufer, der Spervogelsche Kreis und die Goliarden, nach der Gunst der Herren streben." "Die lateinische Vagantendichtung lebt in diesen Vorstellungen. Der Archipoeta verherrlichte in überschwänglicher Weise das stauische Imperium Ihm erscheint Friedrich Barbarossa als neuer Karl der Grosse Walther, auf den die Vagantenlieder vielfach eingewirkt haben, mag wohl auch von diesen Stimmen enthusiastischer Kaiserverherrlichung gerührt worden sein."

Now if these things are true, and there is at present no good reason to doubt them, it should be the duty of someone carefully to gather and sift the philological evidence, that it can be adduced as proof. Until this is done we cannot know how direct the influence which mediaeval Latin poetry exercised on Walther's political and love lyrics. For of course another possibility always exists, viz., that both Latin and German poems were modeled after a Provençal (French) original.

Recently (*Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, Vol. XLVII [1904], p. 319) Martin has cited various themes and phrases of Walther's which are analogous to passages in Andreas Capellanus' *De Amore* (ed. Trojel, 1892) a book written in the last decade or two of the twelfth century (cf. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. III, p. 44). But how far Martin is justified in terming Andreas' work "a Latin source of German minnesang"—that still remains to be seen.

Early minstrelsy.—I hesitated to include in my list of early Latin minstrelsy (Part I, pp. 44 ff.) the verses which Heyne recovers (from *Opera Gregorii Turonensis*, edd. Arndt et Krusch, Vol. II, p. 651) regarding the *spielmann* of King Miro. Cf. Heyne, *Altdeutsch-lateinische Spielmannsgedichte des X. Jahrhunderts* (1900), p. xxiv. They are supposedly of the year 589:

Heu, misero succurite
Oppresso mi subvenite,
Adpenso relevamini
Et pro me sancti Martini
Virtutem deprecamini,
Qui tali plaga adfligor,
Tali exitu crucior,
Incisione disjungor.

The minstrel (Reich, *Der Mimus*, Vol. I, p. 826, calls him *hofnarr*) disobedient to the command of his lord Miro tries to pick a bunch of ripe grapes in the arbor before the portal of St. Martin's Church. His hand is caught as in a vise and his arm begins to wither. At first the *spiel-*

mann laughs and pretends it is all one of his trade tricks, but the pain soon overcomes him and he cries out in anguish: "succurite, viri, misero, subvenite oppresso, relevamini, adpenso et sancti antistitis Martini virtutem pro me deprecamini, qui tali exitu crucior, tali plaga adffigor, tali incisioe disjungor."

Sequence and Leich.—In connection with the claim that profane song was born of the sequence (Part I, p. 6) it is interesting to recall that Lachmann wrote in 1829: "When I can produce Latin poems which two hundred years before the *leiche* have just the *leich*-form, dactyls and all but without rhyme; when these poems although in part secular are descended from church-music and from a very similar form that is still about a century older; then I dare say no one will hesitate to derive the *leiche*, and with them the dactylic rhythms, from ecclesiastical poetry" (*Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. I, p. 334). Later Lachmann prints the Cambridge poem on the snow-child and the *modus Ottinc*, remarking (p. 339): "These poems are themselves apparently only a development of the sacred type whose inventor was Notker Balbulus."

Bibliographical notes.—The "literature" devoted to many of the topics discussed in the foregoing study is extensive. It seemed unnecessary, at times impossible, to present all of it or even much of it in footnotes without overburdening my pages beyond endurance. My annotation therefore contents itself with being suggestive and nowhere attempts to be completing. In a few instances I have cited the title of a book which I have not personally studied, but on the other hand have refrained from mentioning much that did not seem essential. I have assumed that there is small need of listing recondite sources of information when convenient bibliographies are easy of access, when such collections as Chevalier's *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* (Vol. I² [1905]; Vol. II [1886]), and Hauréau's *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins* (6 vols., 1890-93) are at the command of every student of mediaeval philology. This hesitation has left certain longer notes in doubtful shape. Perhaps I would better have added to my references on the snow-child (p. 7, n. 1) Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* (1879), pp. 101 f.; and (as Hamilton suggests) Dunlop-Liebrecht, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, pp. 41, 499, 522, 542; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. III (1900), p. 564. I omitted these titles as they offered no new verse-version of the theme treated. Or again in dealing with the Goliath tradition I might have left out certain references, if I did not care to enlarge upon the matter and include others such as Hauréau, Vol. I, p. 387; III, 197; IV, 233, 282-86, 330; VI, 215; *Not. et Extr.*, Vol. XXXII, part 1; Martin, *Observations sur le roman de Renart*, pp. 15, 51. The name of Santangelo in this note, for instance (p. 24), reminds me that I did not list the interesting reflections of other Italian writers such as

Gabrielli, Corradino, Straccali, Ronca, Novati, etc. It seemed, however, that this would be merely to speak by the card and therefore ill-advised.

Page 13, 26.—For Grosseteste substitute William of Wadington; cf. Robert of Brunne's *Handling Synne*, ed. Furnivall (1903), vv. 9045 ff. On the *danseurs maudits* cf. Paris, *Journal des savants* (1899), pp. 733 ff.

Page 15, note 1.—Hertz's notes are abundantly added to by Schönbach in his *Studien zur geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt*, Part II (1900), pp. 56–89 (= *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.*, Vol. CXLII, 7th essay).

Page 19, 32.—Rand thinks the *delusor* possibly suggested by Terence's own retorts to his critic Lanuvinus. "Mediaeval scholia on Terence may help out on this point—there are suggestive remarks in those published by Schlee, but nothing definite enough to cite." The form of the poem reminds of the *Ecloga Theoduli*. On the study of Terence in the Middle Ages cf. Magnin, *Bibl. de l'École des chartes*, Vol. I, p. 524; Riese, *Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymnasien* (1867), p. 442; Köpke, *Hrotsvit v. Gandersheim* (1869), pp. 152, 159, 183; Creizenach, *Gesch. d. neueren Dramas*, Vol. I (1893), p. 17; Cloetta, *Beitr. z. Littgesch. d. Mittelalters*, Vol. I (1890), pp. 2, 4; Gabotto, *Appunti sulla fortuna di alcuni autori romani nel medio evo* (1891), cap. 6 "Terenzio;" Abel, *Die Terenzbiographien des Altertums u. des Mittelalters* (1887); Dziatzko, *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil.* (1894), p. 465; Manitius, *Philologus* (1894), p. 546; Sabbadini, *Studi ital. di filol. class.* (1897), p. 314; Francke, *Terenz u. d. latein. Schulkomödie* (1877); Herrmann, *Mitteil. d. Ges. f. deut. Erzieh.- u. Schulgeschichte* (1893), p. 1; Galzigna, *Fino a che punto i commediografi del rinascimento abbiano imitato Plauto e Terenzio*, Pt. 1 (1899); Santoro, *La Taide in Terenzio e in Dante* (1902). Several of these titles I owe to my colleague, Mr. Beeson.

Page 27, note 3.—The monk of Froidmont is now generally believed to be Helinant; cf. *Les vers de la mort*, edd. Wulff et Walberg (*Société des anciens textes français*, 1905), p. vi. The sermon from which the quotation is made was probably preached in 1229 (cf. *ibid.*, p. xxvi).

Page 35, 5.—For example, the *Quondam fuit factus festus* and the *Sermo noster audiatis* (cf. Wilh. Meyer, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1908, pp. 406 ff.). The first of these has exactly the same stanza-form as the "Ave," the identical continuous rhyme of the seven-syllabled lines in *ia*, the second one is evidently a close formal copy of the first. Both the poems depict the lowest scenes of monastic life in the vulgarest diction. Interesting, but unanswerable, is Meyer's question, if the *Quondam fuit* did not suggest to the authors of the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* the stylistic device of mocking the old-fashioned university people by having them write ungainly Latin.

Page 38, 22.—Cf. Tobler, *Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.*, Vol. IX, pp. 288 ff.; Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo* (1896)², Vol. II, pp. 112 ff. (Engl. transl. [1895], pp. 325 ff.); Novati, *Carmina medii aevi* (1883), pp. 15 ff., *Attraverso il medio evo* (1905), pp. 51 ff., 95 ff.; Valmaggi, *Lo spirito antifemminile nel medio evo* (1890); Pascal, “*Antifemminismo medievale*,” *Poesia latina medievale* (1907), pp. 151–84. All necessary references and bibliography are given in one or another of these studies.

Page 41, note 1.—For “we know” in l. 2 substitute “Hauréau believes;” and after “Roger” in l. 8 read “who does not share Hauréau’s enthusiasm.”

Page 42, 23.—For the best recent discussion of *De cuculo* cf. Pascal, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 ff.

Page 53, note 1.—I should perhaps have added to the note regarding May-fête origins reference to the discussion and bibliography contained in Jeanroy’s article on “Les chansons” (in Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, Vol. I [1896], pp. 362 ff., 403 f.).

Page 61, notes 1 and 2.—I might have omitted these notes if I had had access to Ronca’s study “La prima poesia d’amore in Italia dopo il mille,” *Fanfulla della domenica*, Vol. XIII, No. 6.

Page 82, note 2.—Wilh. Meyer would doubt the statement that minstrels wrote well in Romance long before the middle of the ninth century. He says (*Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1908, p. 40): “The most distinguished poets were the writers of Latin quantitative hexameters, inferior to them were the authors of Latin rhythms. But those who attempted to make verses in the different national languages or in one of the many dialects were least esteemed. In France and in the Romance countries Latin was understood by even the least cultured. Therefore a need or a desire for texts in the vulgar tongue did not arise in France till much later [than in the eighth century]. The oldest poems in French that we possess originated in a period when Latin rhythmic poets already observed carefully the scheduled number of syllables, when sequences were already composed in which the same number of syllables was maintained: Phtongis paribus metricata phalanx reboet ac librata (*von der Gegenstrophe*, Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. X, p. 150). Naturally then even the oldest French rhythmic poets enumerate their syllables carefully.”

Page 85, note 1.—Add the title “Das erste Gedicht der Carmina Burana” (*Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1908, pp. 189 ff.), in which Wilh. Meyer shows no. 66 to be the merest fragment of the poem *Manus ferens munera* (cf. Wright, *Walter Mapes*, p. 226).

Page 87, note 6.—Add Bartsch, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur* (1872), p. 26; Ronca, *Cultura medievale*, p. 152.

Page 105, note 2.—For further reference to popular tales and songs in mediaeval French sermons cf. Bourgain, *La chaire française au xii. siècle* (1879), pp. 227 ff., La Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge* (1886)², pp. 284 ff.

Errata.—It seems unnecessary to list all the minor slips in spelling and type contained in the preceding parts of this study: they are evident to any careful reader. Thus, "Robinson" [p. 26, n. 1] should be "Robertson;" "Stephan" [p. 23] is "Stephen;" "a" [p. 40, l. 13] should be "as," etc. But I do not wish to be thought deliberately guilty of the plural form "conflicti" [p. 28] and certain other instances of questionable Latin which were allowed to escape revision because of a confusion in the proof-sheets.

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